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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews research related to desegregation and achievement in an attempt to determine the effects of desegregation on the academic achievement of black and white students. The review is organized into three sections: (1) the pre-Coleman era which includes discussions of desegregation and academic achievement prior to 1966; (2) a summary of the Coleman Study (1966); and (3) a discussion of studies on desegregation and academic achievement after 1966. Findings of the review support the positive effects of desegregation and academic achievement although it is pointed out that desegregation can have negative effects on other aspects of student life, particularly for black students. (Author/EB)

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ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT VERSUS DESEGREGATION: A DEFINITIVE VERDICT OR IS THE JURY STILL OUT?

Although studies on the effects of desegregation versus academic achievement have been reported since 1913, the modern era of this research began after 1954, when the United States Supreme Court rendered its landmark decision on the constitutionality of segregated public schools in the South. Since then, a number of reputable scholars and a few whose scholarship and motives were questionable have addressed the issue of desegregation and its effects on the academic achievement of those students brought together for the first time in a didactic setting.

School desegregation in the South brought numerous objections. As other sections of the country faced the hard social, political, and educational issues with which the South was forced to grapple as a result of "court ordered desegregation," many of the same objections were heard. The voices of community protests were usually orchestrated to the same old tired tunes--lack of quality

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education and the decline of academic achievement and standards. What, then, was the true picture of the effects of desegregation on the academic achievement of the Black and White students in our nation's schools? This paper will review much of the existing research related desegregation and achievement in an attempt to draw some definitive conclusions.

This review is organized into three sections: 1) The Pre-Coleman era, which includes discussions of desegregation and academic achievement prior to 1966; 2) A summary of the "Coleman Study" which resulted from the national survey known as The Equality of Educational Opportunity issued by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1966; and, 3) The Post-Coleman era, a discussion of studies on desegregation and academic achievement after 1966.

The Pre-Coleman Era

During the Pre-Coleman era, St. John[1] noted that desegregation and achievement studies tended to emphasize one independent variable which became known as "racial composition." However, there were many problems with exactly what the term meant. The problems arose because neither scholars nor school professionals could agree on the definitions of such terms as racial balance, desegregation, non-segregation, or integration. For some, the terms were used interchangeably, while others distinguished between them depending on whether the school ethnic mix matches that of its community, whether the process was planned, and whether the minority group was accepted into the social life of the school.[2]

In terms of analysis, the desegregation and academic achievement studies for the Pre-Coleman era had limited value for comparative study. The studies tended to lack consistency in methodologies and designs as well as a lack of

adequate research controls for the studies themselves. Consequently, there were some problems as to understanding the intended meanings from the conclusions generated by the various studies. In some cases, studies dealt with academic achievement in general without specifying which academic subject areas were being measured. In other instances, attempts were made toward measurement with regard to specific academic areas. However, there was no general consistency among the studies of academic areas measured.

The studies on desegregation and academic achievement during the Pre-Coleman era tended to be oriented towards answering two questions. One, did academic achievement decline in the host White school due to inclusion of Black students for desegregation purposes? Two, did academic achievement of Black students suffer due to their attending desegregated schools rather than racially segregated ones? Even with their apparent limitations, and crudeness, it was believed that the Pre-Coleman era studies on desegregation and academic achievement were sufficient to answer these two questions.

The desegregation and achievement studies by Mayo, Wey, Wiley, Gunthorpe, Wollman, Matzen, and Stout and Inger were concerned with achievement in general. These studies tended to find no significant changes in terms of academic gains and losses for both White and Black students relative to the desegregation environment. Mayo[3] (1913) studied Black and White students at two integrated New York City high schools. Although he did not find any great differences between the two groups, he still concluded that "relative retardation" would seem to be characteristic of the Black students. Further, he asserted that Black students were about three-quarters as efficient at the White students in the pursuit of high school studies.

Wey[4] (1964) reported on seventy school systems which were in various stages of desegregation in 1958. Two-thirds of the schools were re-studied in 1963. He revealed that in 1958 many teachers and principals felt that deseg-

regation had necessitated a lowering of some academic standards. But by 1963, only two out of forty respondents felt that the instructional programs had been handicapped by the placement of Black students in formerly all-White schools. In fact, administrators and teachers further felt that they had better institutional programs that had existed before desegregation. Similarly, Wiley[5] (1961) concluded from his Evansville, Indiana study that the academic level of the school was not "noticeably lowered" by desegregation.

In his study of Copiaque, Long Island schools, Gunthorpe[6] (1964) found no significant differences between achievement test scores for Black and White students in seventh and eighth grades. Wollman[7] (1965) investigated the educational changes brought on by a transfer of Black students in New Rochelle, New York. Changes in achievement after one year of desegregation registered by transferees in grades one through five were found to be statistically insignificant. Means of the reading scores of the Black transferees and Black non transferees were compared with those of the White children in the receiving school; the latter scores were significantly higher.

The purpose of Matzen [8] (1965) study was to determine the effect of racial composition on achievement of eleven hundred Black and White students in eleven schools in the San Francisco Bay area. The findings were reported in terms of four major relationships: 1) Percentage of Black students and achievement; 2) Percentage of Black students and mean intellectual ability; 3) Mean intellectual ability and achievement; and, 4) Socio-economic status and achievement. Matzen found that in general there was a tendency for achievement to vary inversely with the percentage of Black students. He concluded that: 1) Much of the negative relationship between percentage of Black students and achievement may be attributable to common practices of classroom grouping; 2) I.Q., like achievement, tended to vary inversely with percentage of Black students; 3) Achievement varied directly with socio-economic position (while the entire

student sample was heavily lower class, over half the fifth graders achieved above grade level); and, 4) Achievement tended to fall as the percentage of Black students rose, but the tendency was not strong enough to be statistically significant.

Stout and Inger[9] (1966) were mainly interested in the dynamics of community adoption of school desegregation. However, they reported that there was no evidence of change in achievement levels among Black students who participated in the various plans. Therefore, it was concluded that no consistent change in achievement levels of participating Black students was apparent, but that it was perhaps too early to expect such change. In four of the cities, the achievement levels of White students, whose schools acted as receiving schools, were not affected by the achievement levels of the incoming Black students.

In contrast to the studies above, a study from Portland, Oregon and works by Stallings, Hansen, Anderson and Lockwood found some improvement in the general academic achievement of students in desegregated schools, particularly Black students. In a study of the Portland, Oregon[10] (1964), Black and White students were divided according to grades received and the racial and social composition of the elementary schools they had attended. The study concluded that Black achievement was enhanced by attendance at schools with relatively more White and middle class students.

Stallings[11] (1959) in his Louisville, Kentucky study attempted to answer three basic questions. 1) Was there a significant change in the achievement level of White students with the advent of integration? 2) Was there a significant change in the achievement of Black students? and, 3) Can these changes, if present, be shown to relate to a change in motivation experienced by pupils and teachers as a result of integration? Stallings concluded that scholastic achievement of neither the White students nor the Black students suffered during the initial period of integration, but rather that there were some

substantial gains. The gains made by Black students were greater than those made by White students. He also found evidence that "some of this improvement could be attributed to increased motivation on the part of both Black students and teachers, and to a lesser extent on the part of White teachers, in the integrated schools."

Hansen[12] (1960) reported that after five years of desegregation in the District of Columbia Public Schools, Black students performed somewhat better academically than during the five years preceeding desegregation. At the same time, White students performed "at least as well" as during the segregation period. In his Nashville, Tennessee study, Anderson[13] found that achievement was significantly higher in desegregated schools for Black students as opposed to the segregated ones, and that Black students who entered desegregated schools near the beginning of their school careers achieved significantly better than segregated students. On the other hand, students who were desegregated as late as the fifth and sixth grades achieved less well than did Black students in the segregated schools.

Lockwood[14] (1966) compared Black student achievement over a two-year period in racially balanced schools in upstate New York. She concluded that in a composite comparison, no significant differences in achievement were found between Black students in either racially balanced or unbalanced schools. However, when the students were divided into groups who had attended balanced or unbalanced schools for two years or longer, a significant difference was found in favor of the students in the racially balanced schools.

Desegregation and achievement studies which treated specific academic areas tended to indicate mixed results. The studies by Samuels, and Morland generally concluded a decease or no change in academic achievement made by Black students due to desegregation. In his study, Samuels[15] (1958) was concerned with whether, when such factors as intelligence, pre-school readiness,

school attendance, health, and socio-economic status were held as constant as possible, there were significant differences in academic achievement between Black and White students when they were educated together. The results disclosed that there were numerous significant differences in general achievement in favor of White students. The differences in the area of language arts were greater than those in arithmetic. The differences in achievement tended to be smaller because of the similarity of the groups. At the end of the first year of desegregated education, the differences between Black and White students increased, contrasted to the fact that such differences tended to decrease or at least remain static at the end of the second year of desegregation. Morland[16] (1963) compared the reading and arithmetic achievement test scores of two ninth grade classes in Austin, Texas. Following desegregation the scores remained essentially unchanged.

However, desegregation and academic achievement studies by Crowley, Fontenberry and Lesser tended to support improvement made on the part of Black students in certain specific areas. In a Cincinnati, Ohio study, Crowley[17] (1932) compared the achievement of Black students in segregated and non-segregated schools. She found that the students in the non-segregated schools scored significantly higher in writing and spelling. Fontenberry[18] (1959) compared the reading, arithmetic, and language achievement of Black students in a mixed and non-mixed educational setting over a two-year period. He concluded that combining the races in schools seemed to benefit Black students, particularly in arithmetic and language and to a lesser degree in reading. Also, he concluded that failure of Black students to achieve as well in mixed reading groups might be due to difficulties encountered in curricular and communicative differences when changing to a desegregated school. He further concluded that in general Black students achieved better in mixed rather than in non-mixed schools.

The New York City study by Lesser[19] (1964) was concerned with the academic achievement of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chinese and Jews under varying conditions of racial balance and imbalance. Some four hundred students were tested for verbal ability, reasoning, numerical ability, and space conceptualization. For every one of the four abilities measured, the students from the more integrated schools and neighborhoods showed significantly superior performance when compared to the students from racially imbalanced schools and neighborhoods.

Although the Pre-Coleman era studies on desegregation and academic achievement were lacking in consistency, research methodology, and research design, collectively they were sufficient enough to answer the two basic questions. 1) Did academic achievement decline in the host White school due to inclusion of Black students for desegregation purposes? The answer is "no" as long as White students maintained the majority population. Therefore, White students tended to suffer no negative effects from attending desegregated schools. 2) Did academic achievement of Black students suffer due to their attending desegregated schools rather than racially segregated ones? Here again, the answer is "no". The trend appeared to suggest that Black students would academically experience more positive results in desegregated educational environments.

The Coleman Study

Of all studies accomplished in the area of desegregation and education, the largest, most comprehensive, and by far the most controversial was the national survey, Equality of Educational Opportunity conducted by James S. Coleman, et. al., for the U.S. Office of Education during the years, 1964-1966. Under the legislative mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the charges were:

> ..."The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this Title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for

> individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories, and possessions, and the District of Columbia."[20]

The Commission's findings produced the most talked about educational revelations for several years.

In the study, Coleman stated that the schools bear many responsibilities. Among them the most important was the teaching of certain intellectual skills such as reading, writing, calculating, and problem-solving.[21] He felt that one method of assessing the educational opportunities offered by the schools was to measure how well they performed the task of teaching. During the investigation, the researchers administered a series of achievement tests and questionnaires to more than six hundred thousand students in some four thousand elementary and secondary schools.

Although Coleman pointed out that the achievement tests were not "culture free," but "cultural bound," they measured skills which were among the most important for getting good jobs and moving ahead, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world. Consequently, a student's test results at the end of secondary schooling provided a good indication of the range of opportunities open to him.[22]

The four major findings of the Coleman Report about American education showed results which surprised many educators and researchers. The first finding concluded that Black and White students attended separate schools. Since this finding was expected, the other three findings created much of the controversy. The second finding was that formal curriculums, the physical facilities, and most of the measurable characteristics of teachers in Black and White schools were quite similar. Despite popular impressions to the contrary, the third finding concluded that measured differences in schools, physical facilities, formal curriculums, and teacher characteristics had very little effect on

either Black or White students' performance on standardized tests. Finally, the fourth finding concluded that the one characteristic which indicated a consistent relationship to low test performance of poor Black students was their being denied access to classmates from affluent homes.

Heretofore, the traditional notion of what constituted equality of educational opportunity was placidly assumed to be such school factors as teacher/pupil ratio, per pupil expenditure, laboratory facilities, number of volumes per student in libraries, and several quality measures of curriculum. While controversy surrounded the report, a totally different definition of equality of educational opportunity emerged. The new concept placed emphasis on the increase of measured learning out-comes rather than the resources being made available.[24]

For purposes of this review, Coleman's findings as they relate to desegregation and achievement were particularly important. In this regard, he[25] found that:

1) As the proportion of White students in a school increases, the achievement of students in each racial group increased;

2) This relationship increased as grade in school increased;

3) The higher achievement of all racial and ethnic groups in schools with greater proportions of White students is largely, perhaps wholly, related to effects associated with the educational background and aspirations of "student bodies" rather than with better facilities and curriculum;

4) Average test performance for Black students increased as the proportion of White classmates increased; and

5) Those Black students who first entered desegregated schools in the early grades showed slightly higher average scores than the students who first came to desegregated schools in later grades.

Each of the above findings by Coleman had been discovered during the Pre-Coleman years by at least one of several researchers.

The Post-Coleman Era

The Post-Coleman era studies continued to experience the shortcomings as observed during the Pre-Coleman era. These shortcomings being the lack of consistency in methodologies and designs, and the lack of adequate research controls. Also, most of the studies continued to focus attention toward exploration of answers to the following questions: 1) Did academic achievement decline in the host White school due to inclusion of Black students for desegregation purposes? 2) Did academic achievement of Black students suffer due to their attending desegregated school rather than racially segregated ones? However, some of the studies attempted to introduce two new questions which were not treated during the earlier period. The new questions were: 1) Are there differences in results when measuring achievement outcomes of desegregated classrooms as opposed to measuring outcomes of desegregated schools? and, 2) What are some causes for certain disparities in desegregation and achievement outcomes?

Studies by Klein, Bryant, Prichard, Norton and Hsia, Bundren, Robertson, Jencks, and Zoloth were at least partially concerned with whether Black students' academic achievement was greater in desegregated schools as opposed to the segregated ones. The studies generally tended to favor the desegregated setting. Klein[26] (1967) investigated the effects on achievement of Black students when moving from a segregated all Black school to an integregated one. The subjects were selected from the tenth grades of three high schools in a large southern city. He concluded: 1) Academic achievement of matched groups of desegregated and segregated Black students did not differ significantly; 2) The academic achievement of matched groups of desegregated White students and desegregated Black students did not differ significantly; 3) The academic achievement of matched groups of segregated Blacks students and desegregated White students

also did not differ significantly; and 4) The achievement of Black students attending a desegregated school was significantly greater in some subject areas when compared with an unmatched group of Black students attending the segregated all-Black school. A comparable difference was also found between the achievement of this same unmatched group of Black students and the segregated Black students of the matched sample. In both instances, the matched sample subjects demonstrated more academic achievement.

Bryant's[27] (1969) study was designed to determine the difference in academic achievement as measured by standardized tests and teacher grades of Black and White secondary school students at the end of their first year of racial desegregation. The students attended three public secondary schools in Angleton, Texas, in the metropolitan Houston area. He concluded that: 1) The mean difference in academic achievement of both White and Black students during the first year of desegregation failed to reach expected levels, and that this was true when measured by teacher grades as well as when measured by the standardized achievement test; 2) The standardized achievement that scores in reading indicated a highly significant failure to achieve expected gains. With variations by groups on all sub-tests some groups showed gains while others showed losses; and, 3) There was found to be no significant in grades assigned to White students during the two years of the study, but losses among all grouping of Black students were significant.

In his study of the fifth, seventh, and ninth grades of the Chapel Hill, North Carolina school system, Prichard [28] (1969) found that integration did not appear to have had any significant negative effects on the academic achievement of either race. Black students' achievement during a year of desegregation rose significantly in mathematics at grades five and seven; and for White students at grade five. Reading scores did not show any significant increase. From their evaluation of the desegregation program of Evanston, Illinois, Norton

and Hisia[29] issued a partial report stating that there was no evidence that academic performance of White students had been harmed or that the academic performance of Black students had been appreciably improved as a result of desegregation.

Bundren's[30] (1974) primary purpose in Clark County School District, Las Vegas, Nevada was to investigate the achievement pattern of Black students prior to and after two years of desegregation. He concluded that Black students made significant increases when pre-integration scores were compared to post-integration scores and that the achievement level of White students were rather stable. Robertson[31] (1967) investigated the effect of segregation experience in junior high school on the achievement, behavior and academic motivation of students attending integrated high schools. Robertson concluded in this area that high segregation experience was associated with low grade point average for both Black and White students.

Although the extensive study by Jencks[32] (1972) was concerned with several other major themes, he did make the following conclusions relative to desegregation and achievement: 1) Poor Black students benefitted slightly from going to school with middle-class White students. However, if their numbers are not overwhelming, they would benefit to the same degree from going to school with middle-class Black students. Poor Black students do not benefit from going to school with poor White students. 2) If students have the necessary advantages at home, they will achieve close to their maximum potential regardless of the racial make-up of their schoolmates.

Zoloth[33] (1975) examined the relative test performance over time of Black, Spanish, and Anglo students in a particular school district. The major issue investigated whether or not any change appeared over a five-year period in the differences in performance between minority and non-minority students in that

district. She concluded differences in test scores between Anglo and Black students, and Anglo and Spanish students tended to decrease somewhat from grade three through grade five. This time period was characterized by rising scores for Black and Spanish students with unchanging scores for Anglo students. The gap between Anglo and Black scores closed more than that experienced between Anglo and Spanish scores.

Some studies conducted during this era began to measure achievement with respect to desegregated classrooms as contrasted to desegregated schools to determine if there would be improvement on the part of Black students. Such studies were accomplished by McPartland, Graves and Bedell, the Mahans, Banks and Di Pasquale, Beer and Reardon, Maynor and Katzemeyer, Geiger, and St. John. Generally, Black students tended to indicate greater academic improvement when desegregated classes were measured than was realized when studying the desegregated school as a totality.

McPartland[34] (1967) studied the effect of school and classroom desegregation on academic achievement test scores of five thousand, seventy-five Black ninth-grade students in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. He concluded that: 1) Racial classroom desegregation had a positive effect on achievement, and this influence was for the most part independent of family background; 2) Regardless of the racial composition of the school, classroom desegregation was beneficial to Black students; 3) The "whiter" the school, the more beneficial was classroom desegregation to the Black student; 4) When classroom racial composition as well as family background differences were held constant, there was no evidence that the percent of White students enrolled in the school had any appreciable influence on Black student achievement; and 5) Black students who remained in segregated classes received no benefits in terms of their academic growth from attendance at desegregated schools; and segregated classes may be more

detrimental to Black student achievement if they occurred in mostly White schools rather than Black schools.

In a second study, McPartland[35] (1968) concluded that: 1) It was the social composition of the classroom rather than that of the school which was associated with differences in achievement; 2) The effect of integration on achievement appeared roughly to be linearly cumulative over the years in school; 3) The effects of integration were not linear over school racial or social class composition but performance of both Black and White students was uniformly higher in schools where about fifty percent or more of the students were White and uniformly lower in schools where a majority were Black; and 4) The effects of integration were largely due to social class or educational backgrounds, but when social class was controlled there remained a small increment in performance of both Black and White students where the majority were White.

Graves and Bedell[36] (1967) evaluated the achievement outcomes of students as a result of the White Plains desegregation program. In 1964, the school officials initiated a plan whereby each of the city's ten elementary schools was to enroll from ten to thirty percent Black students. A predominantly Black school was closed and five segregated White schools were balanced. Three comparisons were made in the study: A) Between two groups of White students before and after desegregation; B) Between two groups of inner city students both before and after desegregation; and C) Another more restricted comparison of the latter type. In comparison A, it was found that the impact of desegregation had no effect on the achievement of White students. From comparison B, it was concluded that it was possible that desegregation benefited Black students, even if only slightly. The conclusion from comparison C was that the group of Black students who had attended balanced schools between first and third grades had achieved slightly higher than the group who had attended balanced schools only since the start of third grade.

After two years of Project Concern in Hartford, Connecticut, the Mahans[37] (1970) reported that cognitive functioning in general improved among the Black students. In the desegregated experiment, students in grades K through three, had significantly different (and higher) scores on measures of mental ability and achievement generally. In Buffalo, New York, Banks and Di Pasquale[38] (1969) found that: 1) Black students achieved significantly more when bused to a predominantly White school; 2) White students did not suffer losses in academic achievement as a result of integration; 3) Principals and teachers in schools receiving Black students believed that integration programs have demonstrated positive educational results; and 4) Parents of Black and White students involved in the integration program believed that it was educationally sound.

Beers and Reardon[39] (1974) upon studying the racial balancing in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, reported that during the one and one-half years following desegregation in five out of seven areas, Black students' achievement gains were equal to or differed by only one month from White students' gains. White students, in five out of seven areas, achieved as well after desegregation as they achieved prior to desegregation.

The major question for Maynor and Katzenmeyer[40] (1974) was whether minority group students who have significantly lower measured achievement scores can be taught in the same classroom with higher achieving White students without a loss to either. They found: 1) Relative to measured ability and measured achievement before and after integration, there were no significant differences between the mean achievement scores earned by White or Indian students; and 2) Relative to measured ability and measured achievement to the point when integration occurred, Black students earned higher average achievement scores both in language and in mathematics after integration.

Geiger[41] (1968) examined the effect of racial composition of classes on achievement. He concluded that no significant relationships were found between

percentage of Black students in the class and the amount of achievement. He further concluded that fears of necessary detrimental effects of desegregation on classroom achievement could not be firmly based.

St. John[42] (1975) reviewed and analyzed some one hundred twenty studies related to school racial composition and the achievement, attitudes, or behavior of students. On the basis of the evidence, she concluded that biracial schooling must be judged neither a demonstrated success nor a demonstrated failure. As implemented to date, according to St. John, desegregation has not rapidly closed the Black-White gap in academic achievement, though it has rarely lowered and sometimes raised the scores of Black students. She reported that improvement has been more often claimed in the early grades, in Arithmetic, and in schools over fifty percent White, but even here the gains have usually been mixed, intermittent, or non-significant. White student achievements have been unaffected in schools that remained majority White but significantly lower in majority Black schools.

Although much more attention needs to be given to this area, the Post-Coleman did witness the beginnings of some research focused on the causes for certain outcomes. Studies by Meyers, and Harris were directed toward pinpointing some causes for outcomes in achievement between Black and White students in the desegregated setting. Meyers[43] (1967) examined the differential academic response of Black and White students to the social and educational milieu of the school. He concluded that Black student scholastic behavior was more affected by interpersonal variables such as aspirations, achievement of peers, and sociometric status than was true of White students; the strongest effects were observed with respect to peer aspirations and achievement. Although the total school effect upon Black and White students was approximately equal, the existence of separate, racially-determined social subsystems accounted for the finding that White students were more influenced by global

climate than Black students; and Black students were more affected by interpersonal variables than White students.

Harris's[44] (1967) study was designed to examine certain educational outcomes from a comparison of the performance of Black and White fifth grade students with equal educational ability on certain achievement tests. He concluded that: 1) White students generally performed better on the achievement tests even when educational ability was held constant; 2) At lower levels of educational ability, the achievement of Black and White students was approximately the same; 3) At middle and upper levels, White student's performance was considerably better than that for Blacks; 4) There was a pattern of increasing difference in achievement between Black and White students in each higher level of educational ability; 5) The pattern of achievement from level one to level five seemed to indicate that White students were increasingly more able to take advantage of their educational ability than were Black students; 6) Reading, language arts, and science scores showed achievement differences between Black and White students to be greater than the composite achievement score differences; and, 7) Social studies and Arithmetic showed differences equal to or less than the average difference in achievement between Black and White students.

In answer to two of the Post-Coleman era questions, the results were similar to those discovered during the Pre-Coleman era. Did academic achievement decline in the host White school due to inclusion of Black students for desegregation purposes? The answer was "no". As long as White students maintained the majority school population, the achievement results were unaffected. Did academic achievement of Black students suffer due to their attending desegregated schools rather than racially segregated ones? Again, the answer is "no". In fact, in the desegregated setting, Black students tended to demonstrate improved academic results, even if only slight in some cases. However,

there were two new research questions introduced during the Post-Coleman era. Were there differences in results when measuring achievement outcomes of desegregated classrooms as opposed to measuring outcomes of desegregated schools? The answer is "yes". Achievement results for Black students tended to be higher when measuring desegregated classrooms as opposed to desegregated schools. This finding suggested that schools may be desegregated as to racial make-up, yet be segregated in terms of classroom assignments. What are some causes for certain desegregation and achievement outcomes? At this time, apparently, there may be two major causes for the disparity in achievement results between Black and White students in desegregated settings. One, Black students appeared to be more dependent on interpersonal experiences than were needed by White students. Two, Black students have not learned to take advantage of their educational ability as well as White students.

Conclusion

In our quest to bring about some closure on the issue of desegregation and academic achievement, we found that some of the studies were crudely done. Also, in most cases, there were questions about methodologies and research designs. Further, we found a general lack of consistency among the studies with regard to the variables treated. In spite of these shortcomings, we believe enough data have been generated to make definitive judgements concerning desegregation and academic achievement. Recognizing the guarded optimism of many scholars on this subject, we believe that the "jury is in". And, the jury has rendered a definitive verdict. In terms of academic achievement of Black students, the verdict is simple: "There is no justifiable reason for segregated schooling."

Based on the studies presented herein, our findings indicate: 1) That the academic achievement of White students did not suffer due to desegregated schooling as long as they were in the majority; 2) That the academic achievement

of Black students also did not suffer due to desegregated schooling as long as they were in the minority; 3) That the academic achievement of Black students tended to improve in desegregated schools; 4) That the academic achievement of Black students tended to improve even greater when desegregation was extended to individual classrooms; 5) That academic achievement on the part of both Black and White students suffered when Black students become the majority of a school's population; 6) That where Black students did not improve sufficiently in the desegregated setting, other variables tended to be present; 7) That the earlier Black students attended desegregated schools, the greater was their academic achievement; and, 8) That the longer Black students attended desegregated schools also the greater was their academic achievement.

Although our effort tended to support the positive effects of desegregation and academic achievement, we are mindful that desegregation can have negative effects on other aspects of student life -- particularly Black students. However, we believe this is a separate issue and school officials must take positive steps to eliminate the negative variables from the desegregated setting.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nancy St. John, "Desegregation and Minority Group Performance," Review of Educational Research, No. 1, Vol. 40 (October, 1970), p. 111.

2. Ibid.

3. Marion Jacob Mayo, "The Mental Capacity of the American Negro," reprinted from the Archives of Psychology, No. 28, (November, 1913), pp. 25 and 45.

4. Herbert W. Wey, "Desegregation -- Its Works," Phi Delta Kappan, No. 8 Vol.XLV (May, 1964), pp. 382.

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